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CEAUSESCU ADDRESS TO PARTY CADRES MEETING

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CEAUSESCU ADDRESS TO PARTY CADRES MEETING

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[Speech by RCP Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu at the conclusion of the 5-7 September working meeting at the RCP Central Committee with leading party cadres--place not given]

[Text] The Successful Fulfillment of All Targets of the Country's Socioeconomic Development--the Main Criterion for Assessing the Quality and Efficiency of the Activity of Party Bodies and Organizations

Dear comrades,

This working meeting with first secretaries, secretaries, in charge of organizational and propaganda affairs and other activists in the field of the organizational, cadre, propaganda and press activity has discussed important issues concerning the activity of party bodies and organizations in implementing party decisions and the country's laws and carrying out the program for building the comprehensively developed socialist society in Romania.

The meeting broadly examined in a critical and, to a certain extent, self-critical spirit the activities carried out by county party committees and party organizations; it pointed out both the good results and certain shortcomings and deficiencies which have had a negative impact on the fulfillment of this year's plan.

One can say that the meeting's proceedings have occasioned a broad exchange of experience between county committees regarding the growing role of party organizations in running all fields of activity. One could therefore say that this meeting was useful and that it concluded with positive results.

In assessing the work of county committees, town and communal committees and all party organizations, we must always proceed from the way in which they succeed in uniting the efforts of communists, all working people, regardless of nationality, and all our people in implementing the party-state domestic and foreign policy.

In fulfilling their role as the leading political force of the entire socioeconomic life, the party and its organizations and members have the task of scientifically organizing and leading all fields of activity on the basis of the uniform plan for the country's socioeconomic development. Proceeding from this, it goes without saying that the work of all our party and all party organizations and bodies is directly reflected in the implementation of the socioeconomic development plan and in the overall political-educational activity in our fatherland.

As is known, the industrial production plan for the first 3 and 1/2 years of the 1976-1980 5-year plan was overfulfilled by almost 70 billion lei. A number of positive results were attained in raising labor productivity and economic efficiency as well as other plan indexes. Agriculture also has scored a number of successes by achieving an agricultural production excess of 20 percent for the first 3 years, although, as is well known, the plan provisions were not fully attained. Other branches also have developed adequately. On this basis the national income has increased and the provisions of the 11th party congress and the party national conference on increasing the people's material and intellectual living standard were fulfilled.

Proceeding from all these achievements one can say that, generally speaking, the party bodies and organizations have commendably fulfilled their tasks and the highly responsible role incumbent upon them in running the socioeconomic activity. [paragraph continues]

Therefore, we are justified in highly assessing the work of communists and party bodies and organizations for having honorably fulfilled their role in leading society and uniting the efforts of all working people and all our people.

There is no doubt that the results attained strongly show that we have a correct political line, based on the revolutionary materialist-dialectical concept and on the creative application of overall truths to the concrete conditions specific to Romania. The successes attained are the direct result of the activity of all working people, regardless of nationality, and of all our people to unswervingly implement the party-state domestic and foreign policy, which is in full accordance with all our people's vital aspirations.

In positively assessing the activity carried out in this period, we cannot, however, overlook certain serious shortcomings which were manifest in various fields of activity. Many shortcomings were mentioned at this meeting and a number of justified criticisms were directed at certain ministries and central bodies. As I have stated before, there were also a few self-critical references to shortcomings in the activities of party bodies and organizations and local bodies, although I must say that there should have been a more serious self-critical analysis at this meeting, since many of the fulfullfillments of this period, particularly this year, are directly connected with deficiencies in the activity of party bodies and organizations, working people's councils and other party-state bodies.

First of all, I would like to say that not enough responsibility was shown in checking the complete fulfillment of the item-specified production in all varieties and that appropriate cooperation and collaboration between various enterprises, sectors and branches was not insured. This had a negative impact on this year's activity and has led to a number of lags and shortcomings in certain fields.

I would like to draw particular attention to the fact that serious shortcomings in maintaining equipment and machines and repairing them and particularly in carrying out capital repairs on time and at an appropriate qualitative level have been more manifest this year. An important part of this year's lack of achievements is due to these very deficiencies. There are serious lags in attaining the investment programs, both as a result of certain deficiencies in the activity of ministries and other central bodies and as an outcome of insufficient concern by construction enterprises, people's councils, party organizations and county party committees. The failure to attain in time investments in industry, agriculture and housing as well as of other social investments is due to serious shortcomings in the organization of work.

As was also mentioned in this meeting, we have enough examples that show that where county committees have paid proper attention, economic results were up to expectations and certain overfulfillments of the plan also were attained. By no means do I want to diminish the responsibility of ministries and other central bodies which are responsible for the proper organization and development of production. As a matter of fact, at the meetings I have recently had with the managements of certain ministries, I discussed these problems in detail and we established appropriate measures to eliminate lags. However, if I were to refer only to what several comrades said here, namely, that following the measures taken they succeeded in overcoming certain lags in the machine-tools production, I could ask the following: Would it not have been better if you had concerned yourselves in January with the smooth attainment of the production targets so as not to have to make efforts in the last 4-5 months in order to make up for what had not been fulfilled in the first 7-8 months? I believe that this should have been the normal procedure. Therefore, we must draw the necessary conclusions and lessons so as to put an end to the negative states of affairs in overseeing and properly organizing the systematic fulfillment of all plan indexes.

If justifications for lagging in industry could be found more easily by pointing to ministries and central bodies, it is more difficult to do this insofar as agriculture is concerned. As a matter of fact, nobody tried to justify the serious shortcomings in carrying out agricultural work and harvesting, which have led to very serious losses, since it is obvious that nobody but the county committees, people's councils, the agricultural bodies and the working people in agriculture should have acted to fulfill these tasks. Here one cannot speak about shortcomings in supply, design and so forth; the inadequate activity carried out by many agricultural enterprises, cooperatives, specialists, people's councils, agricultural bodies and party organizations is to be blamed. This also applies to housing construction and other fields of activity.

Without justifying or diminishing the responsibility of ministries and other central bodies, one cannot underestimate or overlook the serious shortcomings in the activity of certain party organizations and county party committees in fulfilling the plan. Party organizations and county committees must understand that they bear full responsibility for leading all fields of socioeconomic activity at the county level. They must always give priority to commendably implementing party decisions and the country's laws and fulfilling the socioeconomic development plan and the tasks devolving on the respective county from the uniform national plan.

In this framework, a priority should be given to fulfilling the economic development plan in all indexes. This is the central issue of party work! The assessment of the activity of party organizations cannot be made according to the number of meetings and conferences held or decisions made, but first of all according to the way in which the production plan is fulfilled. This is the key issue of the party activity and the basis of our country's overall development. The entire party activity must be directed toward concretely solving problems in industry, agriculture, transportation and scientific activity and all problems connected with plan fulfillment in all indexes. In this spirit, one must proceed to take firm measures to pool the efforts of communists and all working people to fulfill this year's plan, to recover lags in production, investments and all fields and to thoroughly prepare the plan for 1980, the last year of the current 5-year plan. Each enterprise, cooperative, institution and county must examine the state of implementation of the 5-year plan and must establish appropriate measures to fulfill by the end of 1980 all provisions of the 5-year plan, both as to the item-specified production and to the net production and all indexes.

It is obvious that in this respect the Ministry of Technical Material Supply, the State Planning Committee, the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Foreign Trade and other ministries and central bodies have the responsible task of doing everything possible to resolve the problems raised in each enterprise and county and to act in such a way as to insure the commendable fulfillment of plan provisions.

However, I very seriously draw the attention of the county party committees and first secretaries, who are responsible to the Central Committee for leading the activity in the counties, that they must not content themselves with telephoning a minister, thus thinking that they have done their duty and can be at ease. They must act, without feeling reassured, until solutions are found for all problems connected with the commendable fulfillment of the plan, thus taking the measures required at the local level in this respect.

I do not wish to concretely refer to certain problems raised here. Some first secretaries said that a number of installations did not operate because of lack of spare parts, obviously waiting for somebody to come and resolve these problems. But there is no county today which does not have a machine-building industry which can produce practically any spare part. [paragraph continues]

Even assuming that this is not possible, these counties should appeal to other counties. Where concern was shown, the installations have functioned well; however, in other counties, at the same kind of installations, there were stoppages and serious shortcomings in maintaining and operating installations. It is necessary to properly understand that the solution to the problem of spare parts cannot be found abroad or in other counties but with one's own forces in one's own county. We must eliminate the mentality that everything that is wrapped in shiny foreign paper is better, regardless of what is inside, and that we must not act in resolving the problems. This shows a certain lack of trust in the capability of our scientisists, technicians, workers and own forces to resolve problems raised by our socioeconomic development. Let us put a resolute end to this mentality and backward attitude which actually shows a certain political and ideological deficiency and a diminution of the revolutionary spirit.

I have referred to all this in order to draw attention to the fact that resolute measures should be taken in order to solve with our own forces the problems raised in the concrete activity of one or another plant and sector and in commendably fulfilling plan provisions. We must particularly pay serious attention to fulfilling the investments plan and commission all envisaged units. Together with the ministries and central bodies, measures have been established to insure that the material base and solutions in this regard have been found. These solutions, however, could have been found in January and February and it was not necessary to wait until September to insure the necessary materials for the manufacture of equipment, and to finish the projects under construction and introduce them into production.

There are 4 months until the end of this year. In this period, we must act in such a way as to make up all deficiencies and to deliver all projected installations. Yesterday I discussed this problem with the first secretaries and again I draw attention to the fact that everything possible should be done to deliver all equipment on time, so as to be able to introduce the envisaged projects into production.

This also applies to housing. All measures should be taken to fulfill the housing construction plan in the remaining 4 months of this year, so as to insure good housing conditions for the working people, in accordance with plan provisions.

Particular attention should be paid to the quality and technical level of production. Resolute measures should be taken in all branches and enterprises to attain the envisaged production at the higher qualitative and technological levels, so as to adequately meet both the requirements of the national economy and the people's requirements for consumer goods, on the one hand, and the competitiveness of Romanian goods on the international market. It must be understood that the concept of the scientific-technological revolution is not an abstract notion or a slogan; it must take concrete shape in the daily activity and in the way in which production is attained and what is new is introduced into all fields of activity.

Although we have achieved certain good things, resolute measures are further necessary to reduce material consumption, particularly in the field of energy and oil. We must resolutely act to reduce all material consumption, which in certain fields still is much over the technical norms of consumption. We must firmly act to reduce production costs, this being the surest way to fulfilling the net production plan and raising the national income.

Little was said at this meeting about the way in which the new economic mechanism is functioning, about the problems of economic efficiency and about the implementation of the principles of workers self-management and self-administration.
[paragraph continues]

We must properly understand that the implementation of the new economic mechanism, the self-management and self-administration and the problems of increasing efficiency are primary goals for the smooth development of our entire economic activity. They are closely connected with insuring the necessary conditions for the future development of the fatherland and for continuously raising the material and intellectual living standard of all the people.

It is also necessary to pay attention to implementing the established measures in agriculture and to improve the activity of party organizations, agricultural bodies, state and cooperative organizations and, of course, people's councils and county party committees in running this most important economic sector. Resolute action must be taken to harvest the crop in time and without losses. The harvesting of all crops must be finished by the end of September. It is necessary to understand that any day's delay in harvesting the crop means serious losses, as was actually shown in the case of wheat and barley. This diminishes the country's agricultural production, directly influences the economic activity of enterprises and cooperatives and reduces the incomes of cooperative and other working people.

Resolute measures should be taken to thoroughly prepare the sowing activity and to carry it out in time. Any day's delay beyond the optimum period, which in any case must not be later than 15 October, means a diminution of the crop. This year has abundantly shown this. Appropriate seeds must be insured and all agricultural work must be carried out, including draining operations and reducing moisture content where it is excessive, thus creating conditions for a good crop of cereals, wheat and barley in 1980.

Particular attention must be paid to animal breeding. Yesterday we discussed this problem in detail. I again draw attention to the measures necessary to achieve the required number of livestock, to properly prepare fodder for winter and to insure animal production. One need not make complicated calculations in order to understand that by securing the required slaughter weight established for each county, we insure not only the fulfillment of the plan provisions for meat but also a supplementary production. The practice of slaughtering animals lacking proper weight should be discontinued; animals must be delivered in a condition insuring maximum efficiency. Each county committee is directly responsible for implementing these measures.

Likewise, investments also must be fully attained in agriculture, both in animal breeding and in irrigation and land improvement.

All attention should be paid to the proper functioning of agroindustrial councils, to better division into districts and to insuring appropriate crop rotation for crops in each agroindustrial council and each county. As I said even last winter, the creation of agroindustrial councils offers an opportunity for better organization of agricultural activity and for better utilization of cadres and mechanization. All these conditions must be fully used so that next year we can obtain the envisaged results in agriculture.

In this framework I would like to draw attention to the concern for insuring proper supplies of everything needed by the working people, in accordance with the provisions of the supply plan for this year. We must also insure the necessary quantities of products for proper supplies next year until the arrival of the new crop, by also taking measures--as I discussed yesterday with the first secretaries--for better distribution of crops, particularly vegetables, so that beginning next March we can deliver adequate quantities of vegetables and other agricultural products to meet the people's requirements. [paragraph continues]

Of course, particular responsibility in this respect devolves on the Ministry of Agriculture and its bodies, which must proceed, together with the county committees, to establish the necessary concrete measures. However, nobody must think that he will be able to put the blame on the Ministry of Agriculture; the whole of agriculture is in the counties and the county committee and the first secretary are directly responsible for fulfilling the established agricultural plan for the respective county. The entire agricultural plan will be drafted for counties and presented to each county by the State Planning Committee. The agricultural plan will be directly discussed with each county, obviously with the participation of the Ministry of Agriculture, in order to eliminate any misunderstandings concerning the responsibility and role of people's councils and county committees in this field.

It is necessary to take all measures to commendably fulfill the foreign trade plan, primarily the export of products of adequate quality. In discussions with the Ministry of Foreign Trade and other ministries I have noted that we sell many products under world prices. We are poorly and inadequately utilizing our raw materials and the work of our people and workers class. We have established a number of measures concerning the organization of export production so that it can correspond to market requirements and also so that it can be properly utilized at the level of international prices. I am dwelling on this problem because the appropriate utilization in exports of the raw materials, products and work of our people is one of the key issues of the good development of the entire economic life.

There is no doubt that we must also concern ourselves with imports, to the extent that they are necessary and planned as such. We must attain the necessary imports, of good quality and at suitable prices. We should not pay more than the prices at the international level.

At the same time we must act more resolutely to reduce imports and to give up a number of imported goods that are not justified. Each enterprise and county must exercise weekly control over imports in order to see what need not be imported and which certain necessary goods can be produced in the country.

We must pay appropriate attention to production sharing at the international level and to attaining cooperation ventures both with socialist countries and with developing or developed capitalist countries, something which can open up broad prospects for the foreign trade activity and can insure conditions for a production of appropriate quality that can be utilized as advantageously as possible.

We must bear in mind that, beginning with 1980, the production plan will also be drafted from a territorial viewpoint. The county will not receive overall plan provisions, as was done previously, but an industrial production plan for all units on the county's territory--including, of course, the national units and the county's own units--so that each county committee will be familiar with and will be able to act to fulfill the envisaged production in all indexes, for all enterprises. If there are certain problems that are not clear, they can be discussed in advance, when the plan is drafted and handed over, so that no problems remain unclarified or unresolved during the year.

Also beginning with this year [presumably 1980] the plan will also be delivered to economic centrals. The centrals and counties will be directly involved; therefore, both the central and the county will receive the plan for the entire industrial activity. I have just said that the county will receive the entire plan for agricultural and other sectors. The counties also will receive the plan for foreign trade, export, import, production sharing and technical-material supply and the plan for collecting materials from the people and reutilizing these collected materials. [paragraph continues]

The counties are directly responsible for fulfilling these plans and the entire plan in all indexes--including productivity, net production, increasing the living standard, goods sales and so forth.

Beginning with 1980, we want each county to be aware of its part of the tasks devolving upon it from the uniform national plan and to bear full responsibility for its implementation. This is an inseparable part of the provisions of the program drafted by the 11th congress on increasing the responsibilities and role of local party-state bodies, on the basis of blending the principle of democratic centralism with the broad autonomy and respc sibility of local bodies.

The Scientific Leadership of All Fields of Activity, Improving the Working Style of Party Organizations and Party Aktiv--A Decisive Fact for Incr#asing our Party's Leading Role in Society

Comrades, in view of the complex problems raised by the rapid development of the forces of production and our national economy, it is necessary to lay greater emphasis on raising the level of the leadership activity of party county committees and party bodies and organizations and on fulfillment by each organization and communist of the role incumbent upon them in pooling the efforts of all working people and in assisting the people in implementing the overall party-state policy.

As I have mentioned, it must be well understood that the activity of each party organization and all party bodies is reflected most in the good results attained in one or another field and in that only the good results are due to the way in which party organizations have worked, while shortcomings and deficiences are to be blamed on others. I say this because I was left with the impression that some comrades believe that this is the case, judging from the manner in which they presented their reports here. Or, it must be understood that both the good results as well as the deficiences and drawbacks are the direct result of the way in which each party organization each town committee and each county committee has worked.

In this respect we must openly say that not enough exactingness and spirit of responsibility was shown in the working style and methods of certain county and town committees and certain enterprises and communal organizations. Not all organizations manage to organize all branches of activity in a commendable manner and solve on time problems concerning plan fulfillment and various aspects of socioeconomic activity. Sometimes one can note that the party activity is carried out in leaps and bounds and that party organizations do not act in a united or correlated manner to insure the smooth development of the entire activity. Some comrades begin work on an issue, then leave it and take up another one, and only later do they recall that the first issue should have been resolved when they note that things are not proceeding as they should. Of course, this shortcoming is also manifest in the activity of ministries and our central bodies; but, as I have said earlier, I intend to deal mainly with the way in which county committees and party organizations work.

In organization and control activities they do not always manage to distribute forces properly and they do not exert a permanent and exacting control. There is a habit of taking note of various decisions and laws without thoroughly studying them, and particularly without proceeding to establish concrete measures for their implementation and without checking to the end the way in which these measures are applied.

Unfortunately bureaucratism is still very much manifest in the activity of certain party-state bodies. Some have started building up a real mania for all kinds of orders, instructions and decisions, considering that by doing this they are fulfilling their tasks and responsibilities, while actually neglecting the concrete field work with the personnel, the area where the fate of fulfilling decisions is being decided.

I do not want to be unjust with our central bodies and ministries. This wrong style and these inappropriate methods and bureaucratic practices are also felt quite strongly in their activity, too. We must resolutely put an end to this state of affairs and we must do everything possible to rapidly improve the activity of party bodies and organizations and all our local and central party-state bodies, in order to improve the working style and methods and to organize and check the implementation of all the country's decisions and laws.

The fulfillment of the provisions of the program for building the comprehensively developed socialist society and insuring Romania's progress toward communism presupposes a greater increase in the political role of the party in scientifically leading all fields and the entire society. When we speak of scientific leadership and of the party's leading role, we must not content ourselves with asserting these principles, but we must proceed to radical organizational and political activity in order to increase and improve the activity of each party organization and each county committee. The party's leading role cannot be attained in general terms, but it must be expressed in the way in which each county, town, communal enterprise and institution committee, each communist and each basic organization acts to implement its role at the place of work. As I have stated before, if the production plan is being attained under good conditions, it also means that the party organizations and communists are working well; on the other hand, where the plan is not attained, there must be very serious shortcomings in the activity of party organizations and communists. This is the basic criterion of assessing the work of party bodies and organizations and of each communist from all sectors and at all levels. It is therefore necessary that all county committees and party bodies and organizations and all communists should give priority to the struggle to fulfill party decisions, our socialist state's laws, the socioeconomic development plan and the program for building the comprehensively developed socialist society.

A scientific leadership requires a correct political line. Life has proved and is proving that we have such a correct political line and that we also have the necessary material and human forces to fulfill the program for the country's overall development. But, as is well known, only a political line and program, no matter how just and realistic these may be, are not sufficient; although they are of primary importance, they can remain mere documents, in brochures or tomes, if measures and action are not taken to implement them. In this respect, a decisive role in implementing the political line and program devolves on the organizational work. The party, as the leading political force, the party bodies and organizations as well as the state bodies are dutybound to take all necessary organizational measures, to do all that is required and to systematically monitor the overall fulfillment of all targets, of all provisions in decisions and laws and of the overall political line of the program.

It must be understood that there is a mutual relationship and a close dialectical unity between drafting the political line and program, on the one hand, and the practical organizational activity, on the other, both being mutually interrelated. There can be no correct political line without a correct practical and organizational activity, as there can be no guarantee of implementing the correct political line without an appropriate concrete practical and organizational activity.

That is why party-state bodies primarily have the task of struggling to unswervingly implement the plan for Romania's socioeconomic development. There is no doubt that an important role in this activity devolves on the Central Committee, the Executive Political Committee, other Central Committee bodies, the central party apparatus, the ministries, other central bodies and the entire state apparatus. In this respect we will also have to make certain improvements and corrections, so as to insure the better functioning of all these bodies, to eliminate shortcomings still manifest and to insure the commendable development of the entire activity.

In this order of ideas, I would like to briefly refer to the activity of our Central Committee, particularly to the field inspectors [instructori], who have an important role in checking the implementation of party decisions and the country's laws. Unfortunately, we must say that in the activity of this apparatus and of the inspectors there is a number of shortcomings. Many of the Central Committee inspectors have begun to identify themselves with the counties, which would not be a bad thing if this identification were a positive one; they have become accustomed to the state of affairs in the counties and no longer observe short comings and drawbacks and no longer draw attention to them, considering them as something natural and normal. Because of this, in their activity they do not help either the secretariat of the Central Committee and the central bodies in becoming acquainted with the state of affairs, nor the county party committees. Perhaps the way in which the secretariat works with the inspectors is also to be blamed. Perhaps the fact that we keep them too long in a county makes them believe at a certain point that they are representatives of the respective county, bound to support and justify the respective drawbacks and shortcomings instead of uncovering them and presenting the secretariat and the Central Committee with the true picture so that measures can be taken to eliminate the deficiencies. This also applies to central inspectors and to those in the field of propaganda, workers control, cadres and so forth. We will have to draw the necessary conclusions and take appropriate measures so that the Central Committee's control and guidance activity is raised to the level of current requirements and of the great tasks facing our party work.

We will have to resolutely introduce the practice of periodically convening not only the first secretaries but also the other secretaries of county committees in order to instruct them and to insure that problems are understood in the same way by all. We must not content ourselves with the inspector's presentation of the state of affairs, because, no matter how well he may understand the problems, it is difficult to insure a uniform presentation of all tasks. Therefore, it is also necessary to make certain improvements in the Central Committee apparatus and in our work with county committees. As a matter of fact, I believe that you will agree with me that this meeting proves how useful it is to hold such meetings more often at which various problems are discussed. We should not let too much time go by before we discuss with country secretaries the way in which problems should be resolved.

We meet more often with the first secretaries and not enough with section secretaries charged with organizational, propaganda and economic affairs. We now have secretaries in charge of social and agricultural affairs. We will have to establish a systematic program for discussions with them and for insuring the uniform understanding of problems by all counties.

Proceeding from this, it goes without saying that improvements also must be made in the activity of county party organization and local party-state bodies, so that they can achieve better results in fulfilling tasks, party decisions and the country's laws. Both party organizations and the people's councils and other local state bodies have important responsibilities in leading the party and socioeconomic activity and in the entire county's life. In the future these responsibilities and duties will increase and it is obvious that their fulfillment requires an improvement in the working methods and style. [paragraph continues]

As I have already mentioned, we will also proceed to the drafting of regional plans, something which increases the direct responsibility of county committees and people's councils in fulfilling the tasks of socioeconomic development. Yesterday we discussed the drafting of regional plans for the next 5-year plan and you are well aware of the great problems and of the particular responsibilities incumbent upon each county in this respect.

I believe that the current organization of county committees and their apparatuses is adequate and insures conditions for fulfilling these responsibilities. The organization of people's councils is also adequate and they can commendably fulfull the responsibilities and duties incubment upon them. Of course, in the process of work there may appear the need for a better clarification and delimitation of responsibilities and for their better understanding, in order to cover all fields of activity. Party county committees must organize their work in such a way as to be able to cover all fields. All fields, regardless of how small they may be, should be in the attention of country committees; there should be no field in which action is not taken and problems are not resolved. Any lag in one or another field, be it economic or social, sooner or later will have a negative impact on other sectors and will be reflected in the entire activity of the respective party organizations.

Therefore, it is necessary first of all to pay more attention to the way in which the forces available to the country are distributed, so that problems can be adequately resolved, by picking the right people for each sector, in accordance with their professional and political training, with their spirit of responsibility and combativeness and with the way in which they know how to work in fulfilling tasks. We must understand the truth often confirmed by life that not all people can work in any field of activity. Some can work in a field with very good results, but if we put them in other places they would have very poor and inadequate results. They are not to be blamed, but those who named them or maintained them in various jobs for which they were not trained are to blame. The organizational work begins with understanding decisions and appropriately distributing the forces and responsibilities, by appointing personnel capable of fully solving the problems. This applies at all levels, down to factories and cooperatives. We must pay more attention to on-the-spot guidance and control in carrying out decisions. As a matter of fact, when I referred to the control activity, as I have also stated on other occasions, we must understand that this does not mean formal inspection, but active assistance in fulfilling tasks and resolving problems. The control activity must not be considered as ended until the problems are solved. Unfortunately, both in the central party-state apparatus and in the counties, there are manifestations of formalism in organizing control activity and inorganizing guidance and assistance in resolving problems.

Let us take resolute action to strengthen responsibility and the spirit of discipline in work. This is also a key requirement for implementing decisions and laws and the program for the country's socioeconomic development. It is increasingly necessary to show an exacting and critical spirit, by bravely and openly uncovering shortcomings, hindrances, and deficiences, by adopting firm and self-critical attitude, by drawing the necessary conclusions and taking the necessary measures to eliminate shortcomings and improve activity. Without an exacting critical and self-critical attitude, it is not possible to commendably carry out the party activity and scientific leadership in any field.

It is also necessary to lay greater emphasis on consulting with communists, the party aktiv and the working people and on developing party democracy and, generally speaking, socialist democracy. We must discuss the problems in each field with the party members and aktiv within the party organizations, and we must draw up decisions and adopt measures for one sector or another together with party organizations and members. Only with the broad participation of communists and all party organizations in drafting decisions can we have the guarantee of adopting correct decisions; that also gives the communists a feeling of responsibility for implementing decisions. [paragraph continues]

There is no doubt that we have good results in that field. Generally speaking, the main party decisions and the laws are broadly discussed. Our party and, generally speaking, the working people actively participate in drafting the overall policy and various decisions and laws of the country, but that should be more manifest in the concrete activity of each unity, locality, town and county. The work with the party aktiv, organizations and members is one of the key issues of the scientific leadership and of the participation of communists in leading all fields of activity.

We must pay more attention to the activity carried out by mass, youth, trade union, women and other public organizations. We must concern ourselves with guiding and controlling them and with developing the spirit of responsibility and discipline and the revolutionary spirit in their activity, because they represent an important force in the activity of each party organization and body.

An appropriate leadership requires the commendable functioning of collective party-state bodies, namely the county committee, bureau and secretariat, other leading party bodies, the bureaus of basic organizations and the general meetings [of the working people]. One cannot conceive of a proper leadership and development of activity without the adequate functioning of collective leadership bodies and without strengthening collective leadership in adopting decisions and then implementing them. Each member of a county committee and of any party body, each secretary and each bureau member is equally responsible for the entire activity of the committee or body to which he belongs; he must actively participate in the entire activity. That should not diminish individual responsibility for one's own field of activity and for fulfilling one's own tasks and duties. Collective work and responsibility is not a substitute for individual responsibility toward the party body and the party itself for fulfilling tasks and responsibilities entrusted to the respective party member. Nobody can cover up for or justify the nonfulfillment of his responsibilities by involving collective responsibility. I would say that there is a mutual conditioning and a close dialectical connection between collective work and individual responsibility and work; one conditions the other. As a matter of fact, there can be no good collective work unless in actual fact, each individual properly fulfills his duties; then collective work cannot be up to expectations. Likewise, if collective work does not proceed smoothly and if each individual is not made to account within the bureau or committee, for the way in which he fulfills his duties, it has a negative impact on everybody's work. That is why we must understand in a dialectical way the blending of those two important aspects of great significance for the proper functioning and development of party activity.

I stressed yesterday and I want to mention again today the responsibility incumbent upon the first secretaries to the party central committee for the way in which the entire party activity is carried out. Of course, they are also responsible to the communists who elected them and to the county working people; however, in accordance with the principles of democratic centralism and the [party] statute provisions, they bear full responsibility to the Central Committee for the way in which they fulfill their duties. It is a double responsibility, a necessary and well-defined one. They must study the party decisions and country's laws more carefully and they must act to insure that all the decisions are well mastered by the entire county committee, all communists and all working people; they must insure the stability of organizational and control measures for implementing measures.

I must say that there is also the habit of skimming over decisions; that is, certain comrades glance through the beginning and end of a decision and then put it in a drawer and forget about it. That is a very harmful practice. The decisions should not only be made but their essence should also be understood. We will have to introduce seminars for our cadres, beginning at the top, from ministers and vice presidents, in which we of the Executive Political Committee should also participate. [paragraphs continues]

Therefore, beginning with the Executive Political Committee, we must organize the study and uniform understanding of decisions and laws and the way in which they should be applied, because there are situations when two ministries understand the same decision in different ways. The understanding of decisions is a key issue for correct leadership. It is only possible to insure scientific leadership through an understanding of--not merely reading--decisions and laws. That is an indispensible prerequisite of scientific leadership. That is why the first secretaries are dutybound to organize the activity of studying and uniformly understanding decisions as well as seminars for the county bureau and later for the county party-state aktiv. Of course, in certain cases, the Central Committee Secretariat will have to provide assistance for the proper understanding and implementation of decisions and laws.

Comrades, the responsibility borne by the secretary for organizational problems concerning organizational work and work with cadres--as stated in the party statute and in the Central Committee instructions--must be well understood. He must be conversant with those problems, must have a good grasp of them, and must insure the organization and implementation of the program envisaging the distribution of forces, as well as supervise and control the application of decisions. I would not say today that all the secretaries for organizational problems and all the organizational sections are fulfilling their highly responsible functions well.

In their turn, the secretaries in charge of propaganda have a very broad field of activity, encompassing all ideological, political and educational activities. They have under them many county bodies, whose duty is to supervise the work at their level. They are responsible for knowledge of the law and decisions and for disseminating and explaining them through every available means--orally, at meetings, through personal contact, through the press and other mass media. Similarly, they must work to mobilize the masses in implementing the decisions and laws.

The secretaries in charge of economic problems are also chairmen of the Council of Workers' Control. I think that in this area things are even worse, because the comrades place the stress of their work on being chairmen of workers' control, instead of placing it on their function as secretaries for economic problems, which requires that they insure the application of decisions and laws, the fulfillment of the economic plan and of the development plan in all areas. We will probably have to add a few specifications concerning the functions of workers' control too; in our general, communist view, workers' control should not be limited to noting deficiences and applying sanctions--although that must be done too--but must provide guidance and support, and participation in solving problems. As envisaged in the law, the Council for Workers' Control must function as a party and state body and as an economic section of the Central Committee. When I speak of central workers' control I also refer, of course, to the respective councils belonging to each party county committee.

The same must be said of the secretaries in charge of agricultural problems, who are also chairmen of the unions of agricultural production cooperations. Their primary function is as secretaries for agricultural matters and they are responsible for the organization of all agricultural activities. In point of fact, the relevant decision and law envisages that the latter should also function as party and state bodies. At the Central Committee, the National Union of Agricultural Production Cooperatives should also function as one of the Central Committee sections, while at the county level, the county unions of agricultural production cooperatives should function as sections of the county committee. I could not say that currently those functions are fulfilled, both at the Central Committee and in the counties. Those bodies must be organized and run so as to play an increasingly important role in agricultural activities.

We must also detail the role of the secretaries in charge of social matters, so that they can fulfill more efficiently their tasks in the coordination of certain important sectors closely connected to raising the working people's material and intellectual living standard.

Hence, we must make improvements in and provide specifics for the activities of the secretaries, of county bureaus and of other party bodies, so that they can increase their role and responsibility in the implementation of decisions.

We must pay great attention to further increasing the ranks of the party, and especially to raising the quality of party members. Currently our party numbers over 2,900,000 members, which I consider a very good situation. On accepting a new party member and after that, the main stress should be placed on raising the spirit of combativity and of communist responsibility of each party member and each party organization. We must be more strict concerning deviations from and violations of party norms, of the statute and of the principles of socialist ethics and equity. We must be more demanding in our acceptance of new members, so that only the working people who have demonstrated that they are struggling for party policy, and who pledge to work in a revolutionary spirit and with communist militancy in all areas and circumstances, should be accepted in the ranks of the party.

Although we will discuss again the matter of changing party identification cards, I want to call your attention to the fact that the change must be thoroughly prepared. The change of party identity cards should not be limited to replacing an old card by a new one, but should constitute an act of great political significance, an opportunity for discussing with each communist his tasks, how he fulfills them, and how he meets the requirements inherent in membership in the RCP. That political action should result in a growth in the responsibility of each communist and in the militancy of all party organizations and bodies.

Consistent Implementation of the Party's Cadres Policy--an Essential Condition for Successfully Implementing the Program on Building the Comprehensively Developed Socialist Society

Comrades, some of the items on the agenda deal with promotion of cadres. Generally speaking, we have obtained a number of good results. Indeed, we have tens of thousands of party cadres, tens of thousands of state cadres, and aktivists in all the areas, who are responsibly and devotedly working, and who are sparing no effort to implement our party's and state's policies. In point of fact, all the wonderful results we have attained are indissolubly linked to the work of the party and state cadres, to the activities of our aktiv in all the areas.

However, there are also various shortcomings and failings in this area, too. Our main failing is that we do not know the people well enough, we do not pay enough attention to their working capacity and their political-ideological level. This is why we do not always succeed in appointing the best suited people to various jobs. Not enough attention is paid to the faults, shortcomings or even deviations on the part of various cadres; such traits are sometimes even ignored. At times there are attempts to minimalize or justify such failings on various pretexts. That is how it happens that we sometimes note that people who have been promoted come under continuous criticism from the communists and the masses of working people for failings and deviations--and then we have to replace them.

Naturally, it is a good thing that both the party members and the masses of working people are becoming ever more demanding and are no longer ready to accept justifications or the idea that the county committee or the body that promoted a certain comrade must know better. Many criticize such decisions, or send notifications to the Central Committee, and insist on receiving expanations or on having measures taken against those who fail in their job. This is a positive thing, which shows that the communists and the working people have a higher sense of responsibility and are concerned that responsible capable people having moral traits worthy of the respective sector should be promoted to various party and state positions. At the same time, it demonstrates the carelessness of certain of our party bodies, of cadres sections or sectors, of the Central Committee cadres section and the cadres commission, and of people who appointed or suggested the appointment of those being criticized.

We must take steps to enhance the people's sense of responsibility and to make improvements in the very important activities connected with getting acquainted with, selecting, training and promoting cadres in all sectors. This applies primarily to the party Central Committee Secretariat, which, in accordance with its statute, is responsible for implementing the cadres policy--the other bodies have their own responsibilities in this respect, of course--to the Central Committee apparatus, to the ministries, cadres directorates, and to all those in central functions who deal with this field. Similarly, the local bodies, the party county committees should pay greater attention to implementing the cadres policy; they should resolutely apply the decisions and instructions of the Central Committee.

We must further promote cadres coming from among the workers class, in view of the workers class' role in the leadership of our socialist society, and in view of the fact that currently the workers class is the most numerous force in our nation. Hence, it is only natural that we should recruit, train and promote an increasing number of cadres for both party and state functions from among the workers class. At the same time, we must recruit and train cadres from among the peasantry, the cooperative peasantry, which is playing an important role in our society, and which also incorporates a large percentage of the population. Similarly, we must concern ourselves with raising and promoting cadres from among the intelligentsia in all the fields--naturally in the appropriate fields, including party and state areas--in order to insure their active participation in all party and state bodies, in the central and local apparatus.

Speaking of the promotion of cadres from the workers class, it is understood that we must take into account the qualitative changes that have occurred within the workers class. Currently, a large number of workers are high school graduates, which means that their level of technical and political training is high. Practice has demonstrated that they fulfill the tasks to which they have been appointed satisfactorily.

We must devote greater attention to promoting women, and must utterly eliminate the lack of faith existing in this respect. It must be well understood that to realize in practice the equality of rights between men and women, the women must participate actively and equally in all activities of society. Hence, we must put more faith in women, in relationship to their capabilities, which have in fact been demonstrated. There are more than a few examples demonstrating that women work at least as well as the men and--why not admit it--sometimes even better. Hence, we must promote women firmly and resolutely, in view of the fact that they make up over 50 percent of the population, and that they staff close to 40 percent of the economic and social activities, while in certain branches they make up 70, 80 and 90 percent. I know that this was discussed yesterday in the section. However, I want to call your attention here, too, to the fact that in enterprises where the majority of employees are women, both the director and the party secretary should be appointed from among the women. The number of women in leadership functions should reflect their proportion in each unit. This principle should be applied at the commune, town and county level, as well as the central level.

We also must be more demanding in combating the self-serving, money-grabbing tendencies shown unfortunately by certain party and state aktivists. These tendencies, which are totally alien to the communist spirit, must be resolutely combated; we must strive to assert the principles of socialist ethics and equity in the life of our cadres and party, as in the life of all the working people. Needless to say, our party and state cadres must set an example in this respect. It must be well understood that the moral and political standards of the party and state cadres are very important for asserting the authority of party and state bodies, for insuring smooth work, for tightening the links with the masses, and for optimally implementing our party and state general policy.

In our cadres policy we must also consistently apply the provisions of the statute on recycling, on periodically transferring the cadres from one job to another, from one place to another. We must find the golden mean--so to say--so that these changes should be neither too often, nor so seldom that people are forgotten in a certain position. Practice shows that when people are left too long in one job, they get accustomed to the failings and no longer see what should be done to permit progress. There are and there have been cases when people began to view the counties or localities where they were employed as a sort of personal fief--although we have long been out of the feudal ages--a fact which was reflected in their work and behavior, and which had a negative impact on all activities. Naturally, the blame belongs to those party and state bodies which did not take appropriate steps to preclude the emergence of such negative phenomena.

Hence, in promoting people, we must keep in mind the principle of periodical transfers from one job to another, from one sector of activity to another. This is very important for both the work and for shaping manysided cadres capable of functioning in any field. The principle of poly-qualification applied in factories to workers, technicians and engineers should be applied even more intensively to the party and state aktiv, which should be given manysided training and be capable of working in any sector. We should eliminate that mentality according to which a person who long ago started working in the organizational field should always be employed in organizational jobs. This holds true also for the cadres in propaganda and other activities. One person says he has specialized in propaganda work, and the other in organizational work. It must be understood that each communist must be a good organizer and a good propaganda worker; he must be familiar with the party policy, explain it to everybody, and endeavor to implement it. Hence, perhaps even at the county committees a secretary should not be employed longer than 2-3 years in one sector. After 2-3 years, the secretary for propaganda, for example, should be transferred to an organizational job, or to another sector, while the secretary for organizational matters should be transferred to propaganda. Hence, there should be certain changes, a certain rotation, even within the party bodies. Thus, the activists will become better acquainted with the problems and the work will profit. The same is valid for section heads and so forth. We will thus train party leaders capable of fulfilling any function.

We must take more intensive steps to enhance the combativity and demandingness of the cadres, their revolutionary spirit. We must organize intensive political-educational activities for training the cadres and raising their professional level; along this line, improvements should be made in our party educational system. Constructive decisions exist in this respect--even concerning cadres training and recycling--but they are not being properly implemented. We must take resolute measures to implement these provisions, including those concerning county party and state cadres. It must be clear that everyone needs to raise his political, ideological and professional level continually, and that only thus can one fulfill the tasks entrusted to him by the party in good conditions.

We must examine our party classes and their curricula, including those at the "Stefan Gheorghiu" Academy. In point of fact, these matters have been discussed recently, and we plan to make certain improvements designed to insure suitable, multifaceted and revolutionary training for those enrolled in party schools and at the party academy, so that they can become true party-state cadres and not merely diploma holders aspiring for a teaching job. This is not the purpose for which an activist is sent to the "Stefan Gheorghiu" Academy. They should continue working as activists, and not as teachers! What kind of party school is this, what kind of revolutionary does the activist become after finishing the party academy? We must ask ourselves this question, since after finishing school some of the graduates become narrowminded clerks, chasing easy or self-serving jobs. Hence, we must seriously examine our party educational system, whose mission is to shape professional revolutionaries and not professional clerks, people ready to sacrifice their life and to work wherever the party needs them. [paragraph continues]

This is, in fact, the problem facing our party educational system. It is along this line that we must revise the county schools and the "Stefan Gheorghiu" Academy.

We must plan for the future. We have long since had instructions on cadres reserves, but those instructions are not being consistently implemented everywhere. Measures should be taken so that in the party aktiv, for each hierarchical step, there should be a large number of comrades capable of taking over a higher position without delay. Any member of the party bureau and aktiv of a basic organization should be able to take over the position of secretary on short notice. The same applies to enterprise committees, communal organization bureaus and party town and county bureaus. At any given time, the secretaries of county party committees, as well as town secretaries--at least in the case of big towns--should be able to become first county secretaries. Unfortunately, it sometimes happens that people without prospects are appointed to various positions. Perhaps certain comrades think to themselves: "Why should I promote a man with prospects? It is better to know that for a long time they will not be able to find somebody to replace me!" I want us to discuss this problem frankly. That is not the way to secure the necessary reserve cadres! Any enterprise director must be in a position to be a party aktivist too! We must secure his participation in party activities, so he can at any time be promoted to the party aktiv. Any central director must be able to work as minister, and as a good party aktivist. Securing reserve cadres does not mean compiling a random list of names. The reserve cadres are our aktiv with whom we work directly, from the bottom to the top echelon. Hence, we must take care to train that aktiv, to expand its political, ideological and professional horizons, and to provide it with a rich working experience. That is the way in which the party's cadres policy must be implemented!

I want to say a few words about the chairmen of the agroindustrial councils, although it may be viewed as a minor problem. As you know, we had intended to appoint as chairmen of the agroindustrial councils party aktivists with a high level of political and professional training, who should lead both the agricultural and the party activities. I have met some of those council chairmen and I must tell you frankly that some of them did not make a good impression on me. I did not think that they were up to the requirements or capable of dealing with such an important sector of activity. Naturally, some of them may do a good job in another sector, but to be chairman of an agroindustrial council one must be familiar with the problems in agriculture, must love the field, must be a good aktivist with the appropriate political training and must responsibly engage one's forces in the leadership of that important sector of activity. Why am I dwelling on this problem? This is election time and I want to call your attention to the fact that the people put at the head of the agroindustrial councils must be capable of fulfilling the important tasks and great requirements of the job.

Similarly, while concerned with insuring a correct class and social cadres structure, we must pay great attention to the national structure, to promoting--of course, in accordance with the same criteria and requirements--cadres from among coinhabiting nationalities in county bodies, in localities and units and in the central apparatus, in accordance with our party's general policy and with the need to raise cadres from the ranks of coinhabiting nationalities for all sectors of activity.

Likewise, we must pay greater attention to achieving a right proportion between cadres with long experience and young cadres. Only by securing a harmonious proportion in the cadres' activities and a satisfactory age structure will we be able to insure good working conditions and the necessary cadres for each field.

In point of fact, those matters should be considered within the context of promoting an innovative, revolutionary spirit among our cadres and aktiv, among the party and in our socialist society in general. We must permanently keep alive the revolutionary, innovative spirit, the concern for continuously developing our society, the struggle against everything that is outdated and obsolete, and must daringly promote new elements in all fields of activity! That is a very important requirement for all party-state activities in building the socialist and communist society in Romania!

For Revolutionary and Militant Ideological and Political-Educational Activities, for Cultivating the Scientific Outlook of the World and Life and Dialectical and Historical Materialism Among the Communists and the Masses, For Shaping a New Man--Builder of Socialism and Communism

Comrades, I would like now to dwell on several issues concerning ideological and political-educational activities. From what I said so far it can be inferred that we have obtained various positive results in our political and educational activities, in our efforts to shape a new man. All our achievements, all our socioeconomic activities reflect our educational work, designed to shape a socialist consciousness, a new man, armed with the most advanced knowledge in all areas. There is no doubt that those successes are also a result of political-educational and ideological activities, in the same way that shortcomings reflect failings and deficiencies in our political-educational work.

The "Song to Romania" festival in its second edition has highlighted the creativity of our people, of the masses. It constituted a broad manifestation of mass political activities. It demonstrated that this is indeed a good framework for the masses' active participation in political-educational activities to shape a new man. Nevertheless, I must say that here too there has been a tendency to devote more attention to artistic aspects such as dance and entertainment--no doubt also necessary--while mass political and educational activities, which must be part and parcel of the "Song to Romania" festival, were somewhat neglected.

As for party education, certain positive results were also obtained in that field despite deficiencies and failings which cannot be ignored. Similarly, the press, radio, television and the other mass media have an important role to play and are carrying out continuous political-educational activities designed to shape a new man.

Nevertheless, without for a moment underrating our results, it must be frankly stated that there still are serious failings in our political-educational activities. To begin with, propaganda is not sufficiently linked to implementation of socioeconomic development plans and to the specific work of each unit and each locality. There is a good deal of formalism, and--why not say it--great superficiality in this work. The press, radio and television do not always succeed in meeting the requirements of practical work. Some of the programs broadcast on television do not fulfill their role, which is to contribute to the revolutionary education of the masses and to shaping the socialist consciousness of the people.

While pointing out such negative occurrences as violation of the norms of ethics and equity, we cannot but add that they are also a direct result of failings in the political-educational work carried out in the respective fields. Moreover, the failings and negative activities of certain party members demonstrate serious lapses in our party educational system, the fact that the system does not succeed in arming each communist, the cadres with our revolutionary outlook, does not help them adopt a resolute stand in all areas, and thus does not adequately fulfill its role in the party life.

Hence, resolute steps must be taken in the area of ideology, of mass political activities designed to shape the socialist consciousness, to raise the results obtained to the level of the tasks envisaged by the Central Committee, by the party, to the level of the requirements of the current stage of development of our society. It is indeed necessary to achieve a new quality in this area, too, regarding both the organization of and the ideological and political-educational work itself, and raising the ideological and political level of the communists and of the masses. Clearly, all educational and ideological activities must concentrate on mobilizing and uniting the efforts of the communists and of all working people, regardless of nationality, of all the people, to implement the party program and the socioeconomic development plan. All political-educational and ideological activities must be consistently based on our revolutionary materialist-dialectical concept, on scientific socialism, which are tellingly reflected in the party program and documents. We must improve the party educational system, and make improvements in our ideological work, with a view to raising the ideological level of our party cadres. The party educational system must pay greater attention to improving its working methods and style, to raising the revolutionary spirit of the communists in all areas and in all circumstances.

We must also raise the level of the press, of its political and ideological contents, and that of radio and television, whose programs must always contribute to raising the revolutionary consciousness and shaping the new man; improvements must be made in the patriotic, revolutionary education designed to increase the combativity and determination of communists and working people against any negative phenomena, failings and deficiencies.

Our activities to educate and shape the communists and working people in the revolutionary spirit of our progressive concept must result in a greater revolutionary combativity and responsibility; they must be reflected in the communists' stand on any problem and in every circumstance. It must be understood that there are still negative phenomena and that the arms of our socialist society are still violated. The fact that there are still people who violate those norms constitutes, so to speak, a failure for political-educational work, for work with the people. We criticize enterprises for having rejects--which is very well and we should criticize them even more severely. But we do not pay the same attention to, and do not ask: Why do we have rejects in our work with people? Why are there still people in factories, towns, villages who violate the law? Why are we compelled to use the law against those people, and why did we not preclude such situations through education?

We must indeed train people of a new quality, with a new outlook. We must concern ourselves with each individual. The party organization must grasp that this is an essential task. When a party member, a worker, a citizen commits a violation, it must give the party organization food for thought, must prompt it to action. That means that the party activist, the county secretary, the first secretary must proceed to an on-site inspection not only when a machine or a part is damaged, but also when a reject has been recorded in work with people; his presence is even more necessary in the latter case. Work with people, and concerns for their education must constitute one of the central interests of the party organizations, an essential aspect of political-educational activities, as indeed of all our activities.

Let us develop a revolutionary, militant spirit in all the communists, as well as amid the broad masses of working people; let us raise the patriotic consciousness of all the people, as well as their responsibility to the people and to our socialist achievements. Each citizen of our fatherland must concentrate all his strength and capabilities on continuously developing the country!

We must struggle resolutely against various negative phenomena noted in certain places, and against the influence of old concepts and situations. We must adopt an intransigent stand toward certain elements who want to leave the country, to go abroad, whatever the reason given. We have previously discussed our views on that matter. [paragraph continues]

We do, of course, make a distinction between the desire to leave the country and problems concerning family reintegration--although a family can also be reintegrated in Romania; however, humanitarian issues must not be taken to mean that developing the people's patriotism and sense of responsibility can be neglected. We show our humanitarian spirit, our humanism, our human kindness--as we say--precisely by concerning ourselves with people, by making them understand that their place is here, where they were born, and that here they should work and struggle to build a new society. The mad pursuit of so-called chances to get rich can only degrade people. Where are those people going? To countries where there are millions of unemployed! What conditions can they be offered by a society that is not capable of solving the vital problem of the masses and its own troubles? It is true that in the course of history, those countries have attained a higher living standard. However, they did so by exploiting hundreds of millions of people, other peoples and other countries--which led to the division of the world into rich and poor. We must actively and combatively unmask the propaganda made by certain countries to mislead and disconcert people. Unfortunately, there are people in our country also who listen to voices from abroad. We must be more enterprising in explaining the problems, because if such a situation exists, it is also the mark of serious failings and deficiencies in our political-educational work.

We must further implement our nationality policy, a policy of full equality among all the working people, regardless of nationality. That policy runs like a red thread through all our measures, including the regional development programs we discussed yesterday. At the same time, our propaganda and our political activities must make clear how things stood in this respect in the past and what the reality is today, how the RCP's nationality policy is implemented and what its salient features are. Indeed, we are proud of how our party secured and further secures complete equality of rights for all the people. Hence, we must resolutely fight attempts by certain foreign circles to denigrate our country, to misinform public opinion about the true situation in Romania; we must explain the correctness of our party's nationality policy of insuring equal rights for all the working people, regardless of nationality. In that connection, too, our propaganda must become more active, more militant and more combative. We should not content ourselves with saying: the enemies may say what they want, we know that we are right. It is not enough to know that we are right, we must also explain our viewpoint and make others grasp it, too, including people abroad. We must actively demonstrate the correctness of our nationality policy. We must unmask those who try to sow discord between Romanians, Hungarians, Germans, and people of other nationalities; we must do so that their voice will no longer be heard; not in our country, and not anywhere else. They must be unmasked as fomenters of cold war and of animosity among the working people, as enemies of friendship among peoples, of detente and peace! (loud and prolonged applause)

Some of our friends abroad reproach us for not being active enough in our propaganda abroad in presenting the realities prevailing in our society and our socialist achievements, our cultural and scientific policy, and our nationality and international policies. While implementing those policies, we should also make them known in the world, thus contributing to strengthening our friendship and cooperation with other peoples, and making an evermore considerable contribution to the policy of international detente, peace and cooperation. This is one of the most important tasks of political and ideological activities in all areas, of the press, radio and television, and of all propaganda media!

In our ideological activities, in studying and explaining the phenomena occurring in our socialist society, we must grasp the fact that the proletarian, socialist revolution should not be considered as finished once political power is taken over and once socialist ownership is instituted. Those are, of course, important landmarks of the socialist revolution, but they do not bring the conclusion of the revolutionary process; on the contrary, they create conditions for asserting and developing it. [paragraph continues]

The revolutionary process, the socialist revolution continues--and must continuously develop in keeping with each historical stage--both in the area of production forces, and in that of socialist structural changes, production and social relations, social leadership, and the people's way of life. The revolutionary process will continue and will make itself felt forcefully throughout the construction of socialism, of the comprehensively developed socialist society, and of the communist society. Only when we view the problem of the revolutionary struggle in that light can we understand the fact that we cannot be content with our achievements so far. We cannot say that we have built socialism and hence, can rest at ease! That is a mistaken, unrevolutionary concept, which we must utterly eliminate from our thinking and practice. We must grasp that revolutionary changes will take place continually, and that we must lead the process of change. As a revolutionary, communist party, our party has the mission to scientifically guide those revolutionary processes. Only thus will it fulfill its mission as the leading political force in society and lead the people along the path of socialism and communism! [loud applause]

Comrades, we must not ignore the fact that recently, the blackest forces of reaction and fascism are being reactivated in the world; they are attempting, under various forms, to revive retrograde and racist practices and concepts both in ideology and politics and in social activities in various countries. Thus, attempts to denigrate socialism and the socialist countries are being stepped up. Various mistakes and shortcomings and certain negative situations in individual countries are capitalized upon to question the very essence of socialism and its principles and of the revolutionary outlook of the world. Attempts have also been made to prove the thesis that in fact socialism has not shown itself capable of solving complex social problems, and hence, that this system should be abandoned in favor of the old ways. It is suggested that we should even return to feudalism, which allegedly offers better solutions to the complex problems of social development.

As far as Romania is concerned, certain reactionary circles also use all sorts of falsehoods; they present our people's achievements and work in a negative light and employ all kinds of outcasts fascists and former legionnaires, people who betrayed their country and who, for money, will serve any master, denigrate their people and fatherland and slander socialism. Our propaganda must be more active in that connection, sharply rebuffing both slanders about Romania, as I said, and the general issues of socialism and of the international struggle against reactionary and fascist forces. We must resolutely unmask such attempts and actions with the aid of facts, with the full force of our revolutionary, socialist convictions and concepts! We have at our disposal enough facts to reveal the true face of reality. We should never allow the reactionary circles to seize on one mistake, to question and negate the enormous successes and achievements attained in building socialism, despite all shortcomings and mistakes committed.

It is evident that socialism has attained remarkable successes at the international level, thus demonstrating that it is the only system capable of solving mankind's complex problems, or eliminating the old social system, and of building a world forever free of oppression--social and national oppression--the only system capable of building a society of social and national justice and equality, a society of equal working people, who are creating their own destinies in complete freedom, rapidly developing the economy, science and culture, and demonstrating that they can do so better than any past society. (loud and prolonged applause)

We must thoroughly clarify at an international level our concept on human rights; we must eliminate the confusion created by certain foreign circles in connection with human rights--which only reflects the attempts made by reaction to divert the peoples' attention from real problems, from the grave situations prevailing in the world because of the economic, energy and oil crises, imperialist and colonialist policy and policies of inequality and domination. [paragraph continues]

We must clearly explain that to secure human rights no people can be dominated by another people. Colonialism and the imperialist policy of use and threat of force must be eliminated, equal working conditions must be insured for all the citizens and genuine social rights must be given to working people in the countries governed by class inequality. We must clearly explain that our democracy, in which the working people participate directly in the leadership, is a truly new and superior democracy, which we will never exchange for bourgeois democracy, no matter how perfect it claims to be! To the democracy based on inequality, exploitation and oppression we oppose with a new, revolutionary democracy, based on the working people's joint ownership, on full equality of rights, and on direct participation by the masses in leading all the areas of activity, and in consciously building their own destinies, their well-being, happiness and independence. [loud applause]

All those issues must be tackled from revolutionary, materialist-dialectical positions; we must actively explain them both in our country and abroad!

I have learned of various questions posed to lecturers at various conferences. Some of those questions refer to religion, to the fact that currently there are various serious occurrences connected with it in the world. Naturally, our policy toward religion is well known. Our Constitution clearly provides for free activities for all religious demoninations recognized by the state and for freedom of religious practice. We strictly abide by those provisions and observe the constitution to the letter; that is our policy. Needless to say, that means that all citizens, including the religious denominations and their priests, should also consistently fulfill their obligations to the country, should respect the laws and, in the spirit of the Constitution, contribute, according to their means, to building the socialist society. Naturally, we cannot and must not close our eyes when the laws are violated in the name of faith; anyone committing such acts must be unmasked and dealt with severely, no matter who he may be!

I am mentioning this in view of worldwide attempts to turn certain religious denominations and certain religious elements into an instrument of the policy of interference in the internal affairs of various countries, against the forces struggling for the progressive development of the world. I made a point of answering those questions so as to make clear to all our party aktiv how this problem should be tackled. We believe that religion cannot and should not interfere in politics; any attempt to do so should be fought because this would make it, willy-nilly, into an instrument in the hands of the reaction. For us communists the problem also has another aspect, namely our concept of religion as revolutionaries. We must not forget that we have a revolutionary, scientific concept of the world, and that this concept is based on what science has demonstrated universally in connection with the origins and development of society, nature and man. Naturally, religion emerged at a given historical stage in social development, when men could not explain various phenomena and were looking to heaven for answers. The answers they received, in one form or another, were the answers that the dominating classes of the time wanted to give. We, the communists, know that the world was not created by any divine, superior force, and that there is no one sitting somewhere supervising the development of society or people's life. Day by day and hour by hour science brings new incontestible proof of the origins of nature and man, and of the materiality and infinity of the universe. Practice demonstrates that currently people are becoming increasingly capable of changing nature and society, of penetrating any secret of nature and of the development of society.

Hence, we must struggle, as revolutionaries at the ideological and political level, among the masses to promote our progressive outlook of the world. In that respect, too, I do not think that our propaganda is up to the requirements. The relation between our policy of securing religious freedom as provided by the law, and the obligation of communists and revolutionaries to struggle to promote their concept and to disseminate it in the world, has been and still is wrongly understood. There is no area of political-educational activity where we should not promote and implement our concepts and policy!

Comrades, we must also actively explain the various problems and changes in international life in the spirit of our party's policy. I will not dwell on those problems now; I only want to call your attention to the fact that we must explain more intensively the correctness of our international policy of cooperation with the socialist countries and with the other countries of the world, regardless of social system, our policy of detente, disarmament and peace, of establishing a new economic order, and of renunciation of the use and threat of force.

That policy has proven and continues to prove itself as entirely correct, thus greatly increasing Romania's prestige in the world. We are duty-bound to struggle ever more actively to implement the new principles of equality and respect in international relations. We must grasp that there is a big difference between recognizing equality of rights, respect for independence and sovereignty and noninterference in internal affairs, and actually implementing those principles, and we must constantly strive, both in our ideological and in our practical activities, to unswervingly assert those principles in international life. Each citizen of Socialist Romania, thoroughly familiar with that policy, must become an active struggler for promoting it in the world. (loud applause)

Comrades, we are now in the midst of preparations for the elections and for the 12th party congress. We must work so that the party elections and the 12th congress will mark a special event and foster a special upsurge in all areas of activity. The elections and the congress should enhance the leading role of the party, should strengthen its force and unity--as one of the guarantees for the success of the construction of the comprehensively developed socialist society and of communism in Romania. During the elections and the preparations for the congress, we should cultivate a revolutionary spirit, should develop criticism and self-criticism, should forcefully assert the communists' democracy through their active participation in debates on the documents that are to be submitted to the 12th congress. Let us work so that those documents may become the fruit of the consciousness and collective wisdom of the communists, of our entire party. By discussing them with the masses, the documents must become in fact the fruit of the consciousness, wisdom and force of all our people, builders of the s[illegible] socialist society!

In accordance with the party statute and by intensifying political activities, we must insure that all the party bodies elect the best communists and the best activists--those who can provide a model of behavior in work and life and can be capable of insuring unwavering implementation of the decisions that will be adopted by the 12th congress. Let us come to the congress with the tasks fulfilled in all areas of activity!

Comrades, we must not forget that immediately after the congress we will begin preparations for elections for the Grand National Assembly and for the people's councils. Hence, we must now insure that immediately after the congress the electoral campaign and the elections can get underway--the elections being in spring.

Similarly, we will have to pay due attention during this period to the activities of the Socialist Unity Front, in view of the fact that immediately after the congress the Socialist Unity Front will have its congress, which precedes the elections for the Grand National Assembly. In that respect, I want to call your attention to the care that must be devoted to the SUF village organizations. The latter must play a more important part role in involving non-party members in political life. Likewise, we must insure active participation in political and social activities by all the SUF component organizations.

As you see, there are very many tasks on which we must concentrate our attention. As I said, we must organize our work so as to insure fruitful activities in all sectors, while at the center of our efforts should be the fulfillment of the socioeconomic development plan.

We have at our disposal every necessary condition for carrying out positive activities and for fulfilling the plan. We have a strong and united party; we have a strong party and state aktiv. Looking in this hall, I can say that even the aktiv present here constitutes a strong force which, working in the revolutionary spirit of our communist concept, guarantees fulfillment of our tasks.

And most of all, we have a wonderful people, who are unwaveringly implementing our party and state's domestic and foreign policies, firmly convinced that it is fully in keeping with their interests. By following and implementing the RCP's policy, the people are convinced that they are securing their well-being and happiness, raising their country onto new peaks of progress and civilization, strengthening Romania's independence and sovereignty and enhancing its role in the struggle for peace and detente. [loud applause]

I am fully convinced that all the party county committees, the party bodies and organizations, the communists, the state bodies, all the working people, regardless of nationality, all our people, will work so as to eliminate the failings and deficiencies noted, to improve all their activities, and to raise organizational and political activities to the level of the requirements established by the party and posed by the current stage of development of our society.

Comrades, upon returning to your homes, you must immediately begin establishing measures to implement everything we decided here; you must present problems frankly, including the criticisms voiced, to all the party organizations and to all the communists. You will have to insure correct understanding of these criticisms and of the tasks established.

With this, I want to conclude the proceedings of our meeting and to wish you, the county committees, the party bodies and organizations, the communists and all our people ever greater successes in fulfilling the plan, in preparing for the 12th congress, and in raising our socialist fatherland to new peaks! [loud and prolonged applause; chants of "Ceausescu-RCP"; the audience cheers loudly for the RCP, for its Central Committee, for the party secretary general]

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